/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call ǀ'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 ǀ'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how ǀ'amaba made human beings.

[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

ǀ'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:
782
821 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

ǀ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a — God, give water to drink.
ǀ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa — God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a — so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

ǀ'ámaba ǀ'ámaba ǀ'ámaba — God, God, God
tūta tūta — We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i — Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi — We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[35 cont.]

222 When all the old women have made their tests, then the children also get some, and the veldkost is, so to speak, made available for general consumption. When a woman has found a spot where
(423) there is a great deal of veldkost, she makes a sign at this spot, and then everything growing there belongs to her. No one will take any of it.

(262) There were and still are a whole assortment of types of
(888) socha veldkost reserved for the old people. [Fig. 3 appears here.]

11. Ergology

Fire

372 The Bushmen believe that there was a time when they had
773 no fire. The following legend tells how they obtained it: "The ostrich had a firebrand under his wing. He, the owl, and Heiseb played together. Then the ostrich took fright at the owl because he thought the owl had horns. He advised all of them to sleep for a little while. When the owl was asleep, he blew at it and saw that it merely had little tufts of feathers and no horns on its head. Thereupon he awakened the two others again and invited them to go on playing. Then Heiseb said: 'Dear ostrich, please wave your wings.' The ostrich did so, and as a result its firebrand fell to the ground. Heiseb picked it up and threw it to the fig tree, and since then man has had fire." -- The narrative probably comes from the legend-circle of the Hei//om Hottentot. Otherwise, Heiseb never appears in !Kung stories. Two pieces of wood from the
372 fig tree are still used occasionally to make fire. For the most part, the most popular devices for making fire are a striking iron and flint; matches are less [36] prized. A pair of fire sticks, the sucking reeds, a few poisoned arrows, and a bird arrow make up the permanent inventory of the quiver.

[52 cont.]

754 further. The belly of the unconscious person swells enormously.
755 When all other procedures have proved futile and someone remembers that this or that doctor has the magic medicine, he is called in, takes some of his bloodlike fluid from his horn, and first smears his own feet and then rubs the patient's feet and, above all, the patient's stomach in a circular massage. Gradually the swelling recedes, the patient gets up, sits down, and is cured.

This story, based upon the fact that there are roots with
648 bloodlike sap, became known by the farmers in a confused fashion and was the cause of the ridiculous fear of the secret poisons of the Bushmen that many farmers have.

15. The Elements

● 773 Heaven and earth, sun and moon, all was made by ǂ'u,
821 the great captain, the supreme being. In the sun-scorched deserts inhabited by the Bushmen, the sun is no dispenser of mercy. During the hot season even the Bushman is forced to remain in the shade in the daytime, because the sand is so hot that he cannot walk on it.

The sun was a daughter of man. The Bushmen had seen her, and the men had to carry this daughter, but since she burned with such heat on their shoulders, the men had to frequently change places. When the shoulders of all the men were burned, they left the sun lying in the bush and did not take her to the huts. This is the place from which the sun rose. She is from the great captain.

When the sun sets, she sits down on the earth to eat. When it is to be day, one of her shoulderblades goes to the other side of the world where it appears as the sun. The sun's rays (/gam ǂhasn) are the arms of the sun. The eclipse of the sun (ǂKâo) is caused by the lions so that they can more easily eat human beings.

The Bushman becomes cheerful only when the cool of the evening arrives, and at the time of the full moon he celebrates his festivals. There is no question of moon worship, however, among the !Kung Bushmen I visited.

[52 cont.]

Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, ǂu !gam, are stars of the great captain; they bring luck. When a shooting star, ǂgomma, falls, it is said, just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the campfires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

Earthquakes, ǂ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The rainbow, !khâni !náo, indicates a good year for rain.

What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[175] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed pres-
771 ent among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage.

[174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours.

● [773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[55 cont.]

114 to processes. Hence, among the primitives
776 we find carefully thought out conceptions
771 concerning the origin of the world of ani-
773 mals, human beings, and plants more rarely than a clear answer to the question concerning the originator of the actual processes, that is, of rain, storms, sickness, death, and, generally, good and bad fortune in human life. This originator is conceived as either a human-like being above the clouds or ancestral spirits. The religious need or the need for protection is also generally oriented in terms of
114 these two conceptions. The greater the signifi-
771 cance accorded to the benign ancestral spirits
776 and the extent to which they can be influenced by magical practices, the smaller the significance of the heavenly being conceived as a general causa officiens. J. Schapera will doubtless agree with me whan I say that, in contrast to the Bantu, the need for a causal explanation and the religious need for protection are oriented around Thora, Huwe, /Gamab, and others, and that among the Bushmen this heavenly being therefore plays the role that we impute to a "good supreme being." By way of a critique of the Bushmen's conceptions it should be emphasized that the Bushmen, like all primitives, systematize their religious conceptions only to the extent that this is necessary for the satisfaction of their religious and causal-explanatory needs. We shall thus encounter varying degrees of consistency in the world picture from group to group, even from individual to individual, and no investigator will be able to discover a thoroughly organized system of Bushman religion since such does not exist. Whatever I could get from my

[57 cont.]

776 [771] Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall [773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with, and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air, where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa [821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain [821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires. They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa, run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth. Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the [775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 [774] The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[191] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821

2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] 774 form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
775 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

IAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

726 Before going to war, the body is smeared with a magic medicine (/num). If old enemies are involved, the attack is carried out by subterfuge and stealth. Otherwise the opponents face each other in open battle. Depending upon the degree of enmity, they shoot at each other with either poisoned or unpoisoned arrows. Commonly, however, a conference of the leaders takes place before the beginning of the battle, which leads to a peaceful dispersal of the combatants. The principles of natural morality are honored and recognized both within and outside the horde. It is regarded as bad to inflict harm on another person or not to assist him if he is in need, not because any kind of punishment is to be feared, but because this is what elders have taught.

6. The World Picture and Religion

821 The sun is a man and is called /gam or kha//ã, the hunter. The moon is a woman and is called !nui or /nauga, "the one who runs around."

●773 821 Formerly the sun, the moon, and the hare lived together. One day Mrs. Moon and Mr. Hare were having a quarrel. The moon split open the hare's snout with an ax. The hare then scratched the moon's face. This is still visible today. When the sun came home, he became angry and said: "Now we have had enough of the earth; now we shall go up so that the hare will be alone. I shall burn him from above, and I shall become very hot so that during the day he cannot run about as he wants to." The moon replied: "That is a good idea; at night I shall go and bring the cold, so that the hare will freeze when he looks for his food."

Since that time, the sun and moon are in the firmanent.

The dome of the sky is the covering of the sun and moon. When the sun and moon went up to the sky, they had little sacks of resin with them. They threw them away. The grains of resin are now the stars.

When the sun, moon, and hare were still together, the sun said, "Men shall not die," and the moon agreed with him. But the hare said: "No, people must die, because I, too, must die."

726 821 Rain is made by sorcerers; these are called Gowa. They do

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large [789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon [535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, [534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

794 487 821 [74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, especially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 821 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

≠AUIN
NARON

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
& 21 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114
776 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete concerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !Xuba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[175] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[187] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

192 827 it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child "*//gau*(s) its name" if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

821 827 843 ≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow* comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants [845 847] thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

821 787 It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

821 826 [827] *N/ow* is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the [773] old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

775 821 826 In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

A party of /Kung men had gone hunting towards the west. John, our son, was with them. In the afternoon there appeared in the western sky three little white clouds, like three powder-puffs in a neat row. They were the first clouds to be seen since the big rains had ended in March. We ran to each other, pointing them out. People felt happy. In the evening, when the hunters returned, ≠Toma came at once to me, before he put down his bow and quiver, and said that I could see for myself what it meant to ≠*gani* an animal. John had ≠*gani*(ed) the wildebeest he shot, and the clouds had appeared immediately above them. ≠Toma said this was what he had been trying all along to explain to me.

If a hunter knows with certainty that he has ≠*gani*(ed) or ǁ*ghui*(ed) an animal, as it was known when John killed the wildebeest that he had ≠*gani*(ed) it, he may take the horns and the scalp and forehead bone and hang them in a tree, remembering where they are and whether they had been ≠*gani*(ed) or ǁ*ghui*(ed). If need should arise he could get the horns which were appropriate to the need and burn them in a specially made fire away from the cooking-fires. He would take a piece of the burning horn and point it to the sky saying '*goichi goichi goichi n!ow qui*'. This we were told is 'speaking *n!ow*'. The interpreters did not know and could not find out by questioning people what the words mean. We wonder if they are an archaic spell. The horns must be entirely consumed by the fire.

In *Bushman Folklore*[1] there is a reference to the burning of horns in a very interesting myth about the Rain Bull, related to Dr. Bleek in 1878 by a Bushman from Strontbergen (30° S., 22° E.) whose dialect included the fifth click of the southern group, as the Katkop dialect does. In this myth a young woman cleverly saves herself from being carried away on the back of the Rain Bull to the water-pit where she would have been turned into a frog, and all of her people also would have become frogs. At the end of the myth the informant who related it said, 'The old women who had been out seeking food were those who came to burn horns, while they desired that the smell of the horns should go up, so that the Rain should not be angry with them.'

A hunter has another way of controlling the weather. To bring rain he would cut the throat of an animal he had reason to believe he habitually ≠*gani*(ed), or to stop rain, one he habitually ≠*ghui*(ed). The blood, which is ordinarily saved and eaten, would be allowed to flow on to the ground. A giraffe is the best animal for blood-letting. The forms and colours of the clouds are like giraffes, the /Kung remarked. We asked if human beings cut themselves and used their blood to start or stop rain as they do their urine or hair. The /Kung said, No, they did not. That would be unnecessarily painful.

As far as we know the /Kung did not attempt to control the weather by these means while we were with them, as they did not resort to burning urine or hair of persons. Perhaps this was because the weather took its normal, expected, seasonal course. Furthermore, we did not experience its most severe extremes for very long periods, and found it on the whole quite bearable. Or perhaps the concept of controlling weather by means of burning urine, hair or horns or letting blood, exists more in lore than in active practice. Or perhaps the long unchanging months do not stimulate the idea of actively attempting to control weather and the people content themselves with explaining rather than controlling. They appeared in many instances to have the

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 193 ff.

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and distribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

173 829 174 531

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 131 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the */Nu-//ẽin* or */Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *//Nu-//ẽin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *//Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

535 nature of the latter may be gathered from the following dances of the */Koma-khoin*, *Xom-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin* groups of the Etosha Pan *Hei-//om*. The common dance among the */Koma-khoin* is the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab*. Rattles (*/gunu-gu*) are worn round the legs of the dancers. It is danced by men who go round in a circle in Indian file while the women chant and clap their hands. Women, however, may join in the dance one at a time. When this happens and she wants to return to her companions the men as a rule try to prevent her leaving the circle by dancing round her. The *Xom-khoin* also dance the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab* but without rattles as they do not know how to make the latter. Among the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region the */gunu-gu* are used only by the */Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*.

In the Jackal and Wolf dance (*/geirab tsi ǂhiras tsira ǂnab*) which is danced by men only, is represented an hyena, which is supposed to be feeding on a carcass, keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way.

The horse-dance (*ha-ǂnab*) is likewise danced by men only who go round quickly in a circle while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse.

The */gae-ǂnab* or gemsbuck dance represents a gemsbuck bull, cow and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The gemsbuck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought at bay. Then the men pretend to shoot and one of the buck goes down wounded while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both man and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for. Bows and arrows are represented by sticks in this dance.

The Kudu dance (*dau-ba-ǂnab*) is danced by men among the *Xom-khoin* while the women chant and clap their hands. In it are represented various phases in the life of a herd of kudu. The hands of some of the dancers are held up to imitate the horns of the bulls. From time to time as it is in progress a couple of women join in the dancing for a short time. Among the */Koma-khoin* it is danced by women.

773 539 535 There is a legend that in the olden days the Klipkaffirs used to pay tribute daily in honey, ointjes, etc., to the *gei-khoib* of the */Koma-khoin*. When for any reason they defaulted for two or three days, the *gei-khoib*, accompanied by his young men, set out for the Klipkaffir encampment to investigate. As soon as the latter became aware of the approach of the *gei-khoib* they grasped everything on which they could lay hands and made for his *//gāus*. On the way

they hurriedly collected whatever veldkos they came across, being closely followed by the *gei-khoib*. In the *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* or dance of the Klipkaffirs who live on the mountain tops, are depicted a couple of Klipkaffirs, carrying heavy loads and closely followed by the Bushmen armed with kirries. The Klipkaffirs are constantly glancing backwards as if anticipating a blow from a kirri. When they see any veldkos they squat down, hurriedly dig it up and place it in their bags. While on the way they are constantly being harassed and threatened with kirries by the pursuing Bushmen. The *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* originated with the Klipkaffirs to commemorate the time when they were held in bondage by the */Koma-khoin* and was taught by them to the latter. It is also known to other groups, *e.g.*, the *Xom-khoin*, but is danced mainly by the */Koma-khoin*. 773 539 535

The *Xom-khoin* have a dance in which are depicted the antics of a group of vultures at the carcass of a zebra. It is confined to men only but the women chant and clap their hands. The carcass is represented by a person lying down. A giant vulture is at the carcass. As the others, who are standing close together some distance away, approach in a row flapping their wings, he raises his wings and makes a dart at them which causes them to stop suddenly and retreat. This dance is known as *man-toeu tsi gei-aniti-ǂnab*. 535

Among all the remaining tribes dances of a similar description are met with, being based as a rule on episodes in the lives of wild animals. Thus the *ǂAo-//ein* and *Naron* have the turtle dove, duiker, porcupine, guineafowl, jackal and other dances. Games are played by grown-up people of both sexes as well as by children. Among the *Hei-//om* the men play their games on an open place cleared of scrub outside the werft. The principal game is the *bies-//heib* which is played with a round tuber (*bies*). The players line up in two rows facing each other and the bies is rolled from one side to the other. As it approaches the opposite side each member of the latter in turn hurls a pointed stick, shaped like an asseguai (*hēi-heigu*) at it. If he misses, the *bies* is rolled to the now opposite side. If he should hit it the *bies* is left *in situ*, the sides cross over and it is rolled towards the winning side again. Those who have hit it have preference in hurling the *hei-heigu* at the *bies*. This game is played by the */Koma-khoin* only. 524

Among the games played by the women of these communities may be mentioned the *goarab-/hurub* or white monkey game of the *Xom-khoin*. A white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

where the names came from (' The old people told us that he gave himself these names ', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that ≠*Gao/na* was the oldest of the names of God and that */Gara* was the next oldest.

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own ' divine ' names but not his human name, ≠*Gao/na*.

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his */guma* (*/gu* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the */gu/na* (*/na* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the */gu/na* and the */guma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] */Gu/na* and */guma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's */gu/na* or */guma*. Behaviour between a */gu/na* and a */guma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the */gu/na–/guma* relationship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the */gu/na–/guma* relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god.

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that ≠*Gao/na* gave all his own ' divine ' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means ' female ' is added: *Hithedi*, *Hmvedi*, *Kxodi*, */Garadi*, *Gani gadi*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gaidi*, *//Ganwadi*.

≠*Gao/na*, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead ≠*Gao/na a tsin*, ' ≠*Gao/na* his wife '.

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with ≠*Gao/na*, is named *Khwova/na*, Old Khwova. The younger one is *//Gow*. (*//Gow* rhymes with *how*. The *ao* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *ou* in *ouch*.) We knew only two women named *//Gow* but knew many Khwovas.

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used

[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, ' The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–25.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 The concept of ≠*Gao/na* as a powerful creator and a good being is based in the past. Schapera gives the following accounts: 'Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, . . . speaks of *Huwe* as a good being to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things.'[1] 'Lebzelter . . . says that all the groups [of Kung] investigated by him have "the belief in a supreme good being".'[2] The Western /Kung of the Oschimpoloveld believe he 'lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is often prayed to, especially for rain and hunting, as well as in case of illness because he made all things and can do everything and knows everything, and he is given the first offering of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.'[3]

Schapera also notes that Lebzelter reports that *Xu* of the Heikum is regarded almost everywhere among them 'as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.'[4]

[761 811] This god of the /Kung and the Heikum in the past was not the death-giver. The old *//Gauwa*, as I shall presently describe, held that role. But now, in believing that the great god of the east is all-powerful, the /Kung have logically attributed to him the control over death, and hold him ultimately responsible for it. But their concept of ≠*Gao/na*, first and foremost, is that of the creator.

776 ●773 [154] It is said that ≠*Gao/na* created himself. One informant, /Tik/ay, claimed that he came out of the water, but others said they were not told this by the old people. I could discover no formulated myth of creation which everybody knew or anything which told how he created himself. People simply said they did not know. /U turned on me and asked me if I knew. When I said I did not, she snapped, How, then, did I expect her to know? After creating himself, ≠*Gao/na* created the lesser god and then their two wives. It was stated quite specifically that there were only two wives and that the gods never took human wives. This is in contrast to the old ≠*Gao/na* of the tales, who gives the impression that he had a bevy of wives.

The great god created the earth and gave it its name, ≠*kxa*. In the earth he created holes for water and he created water. They were not told just how he created these things, the people said. He has an iron of his own with which he works, a */ka* (*/ka* is metal). Some metal tool is what he had, a special one. They 'did not see it', they said, and do not know just what kind of a tool it is or what substances he may have worked with, but they know that he is the creator and the commander of metal.

After the earth, ≠*Gao/na* made the sky in a dome over the earth, and he made rain, */ga*. He made gentle female rain, */gadi*, and violent male rain, */ga/go*. The people do not say freely the word */ga/go* because they fear the violent rains. They use a respect word, */noi*, when they speak to the rain and plead with it to be gentle. ≠*Gao/na* made thunder and lightning.

After the rain, he made the sun. Sun is a 'death thing' which dries up the veldkos

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 184. [4] Ibid., pp. 184–5.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

and the water-holes. He made the moon and the stars, all at the same time. Then he made the wind. He is the creator of all these things and he commands their movements.

He created the things that grow from the ground and he created animals and painted their stripes and markings on them and gave them their names. Then he created human beings. He created animals as animals and human beings as human beings. He commanded them to breathe. Without breath they would not live. 'First was woman and then man. The man asked the woman to give him fire. She did. The woman got some veldkos and was eating it. Then the man married the woman.' This was one man's cryptic account of the creation. Something about the creation of fire seems to have been left out. ≠*Gao!na* named the first woman Khwova for his wife and he named the first man ≠Gao for himself.

From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. He turns the spirits of the dead into *//gauwasi* and commands them to live in the sky with him and be his servants. He orders them to go down to earth, to mortals, to carry sickness or death to them, or he may order them to carry good fortune.

≠*Gao!na* has a medicine with which he can renew himself at any time. He also renews all the beings who live in the sky with him. They get old and he renews them. They do not die. But he has not given human beings that medicine and the /Kung said, 'We cannot make it.' (They pointed out that in this quality the medicine is like water. They cannot create water. 'We know how to dig and make the holes but we cannot create the water,' they said.)

≠*Gao!na* gave arrows and bows and assegais to human beings and he gave digging-sticks. He gave people the knowledge to make all the things which they now make and taught them to do all they know how to do. 'If he did not want us to know he would not have taught us.' He commanded human beings to dig for food with their sticks and to hunt with their weapons. From the beginning they did these things.

≠*Gao!na* created all the medicines. (The /Kung word for both material substances used as medicines and magic or spiritual medicine is *n/um*.) He created the medicine which is in the medicine songs to cure the people and he created all the other medicines. He put medicine power in the medicine men (*n/um kxaus* is medicine man, owner of medicine), and he calls that power *gauwa*, the same respect word which people may use for him when they fear to say his name.

≠*Gao!na* commanded men and women to marry and live together and have children. He controls the actions of people. If they do good deeds or bad deeds it has been under his control. He arranges all things.

Several times in our talks I asked if the great creator controlled the lives of Bushmen only, or if he controlled all the people on earth. It was not surprising that the /Kung's thinking on this point was vague and contradictory. Some said, 'He is over all people. He can kill anybody.' (They had said this same thing about *Ka*.) Others claimed that ≠*Gao!na* and *//Gauwa* as well were 'only for Bushmen'. White people and black people, they said, have their own gods.

≠Gao!na's *Appearance and Dwelling Place*

The /Gikwe Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate visualise the protagonist of their old tales, *Pisibora*, as being of supernatural size. In the tortures of his death

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named ǂ*Gao!na*—Old ǂGao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old ǂ*Gao!na*, he is mightily changed.

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises; the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the */gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the */gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal.

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe, Hwwo, Kxo, !Gara, Gani ga,* ǂ*Gaishi* ǂ*gai* and */Gauwa*. The human name is ǂ*Gao!na*, the one he shares with the old protagonist.

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

262 [114] to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo [821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a [821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is [773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly [761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which [825] the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water [841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point, 224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain [114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. 224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout 252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is [462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the [281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is [462] then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; *cf. idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

again; being, on the first occasion, allowed to look afar over her mother's hand. She leaves the small hut, when allowed to look about and around again; and she then walks about like the other women. During the time she is in retreat, she must not look at the springbok, lest they become wild."[1] She was not allowed to eat game killed by the young men, but only that which her father had shot; and, above all, she was not to look upon or be approached by men lest harm come to both them and herself. There are several legends describing how men who were looked upon by a girl at this time became fixed in whatever position they then occupied, or even became transformed into stones, or stars in the sky, or trees which talked; while girls who were disobedient became converted into frogs or were carried off to death by the rain.[2]

Further north, in some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung), the central feature of the girls' puberty ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is held in the girl's honour.[3] As soon as she has her first period, neighbours and friends assemble to a big feast given by her parents. By day she is kept in a special hut, tended by women only, and no man may come near her; while every night until her period has passed the eland bull dance is performed. All the men and boys leave the camp, save two old men, who tie elands' horns or wooden imitations thereof to their heads, and wait in the bushes. The older women stand in a line, singing and clapping their hands. The girl is brought from her hut, and sits or lies on the ground by them. The younger women then circle round before them, or make a figure of eight. They dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow, swaying step. As they dance they lift their karosses and aprons to one side, and expose their buttocks, which they waggle from side to side. Then the two "bulls" stamp up, holding their karosses pulled well down over their shoulders, and presenting a hunched-up appearance. They join the line of dancers, sometimes leading it, sometimes in the middle of it, and dance with a slow, jogging step. The song accompanying their movements is full and low in tune, but without words. The motif of this dance clearly is the courtship of the eland bull, and although as seen by Passarge and Miss Bleek it was kept within bounds, they say that it can easily become indecent.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 76–7.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10, 14, 18; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 10.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101–3; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137–8; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter VII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death and Burial

771 In discussing the social customs and economic life of the Bushmen we have had occasion to note incidentally various usages and beliefs, connected for instance with puberty and especially with food, which point to the existence of some conception of supernatural agencies, and indicate how intimately religion really enters into the everyday activities of the people. The customs and beliefs associated with death afford a further insight into the religion of the Bushmen, for we meet here with their ideas of a future state as well as of spiritual beings.

539 The origin of death is recorded in the fable of the Moon and the
● 773 Hare, which is told with some variation by all the Bushman and
[761] Hottentot tribes, as well as by certain Bantu peoples. The version found among the Cape Bushmen states that the Moon once appeared to the young Hare, telling him not to cry at the death of his mother, for she was not really dead but sleeping, and would return again living, just as the Moon dies and returns again living. But the young Hare did not believe this, and continued to cry, saying that the Moon was deceiving him, whereupon the Moon, infuriated, cursed the Hare and cleft his lip. In another, more widespread, rendering the Moon instructs the Hare to deliver the following message to mankind: "As I die and return again, so shall man die and return again." The Hare distorts the message and tells the men that they will die and not return again. The Moon curses the Hare and cleaves his lip, but ever since then death has existed on earth.[1]

761 There is not much information regarding the Bushman beliefs as to the actual causes of death. The Cape Bushman apparently recognized that deaths could occur purely by accident, as in the case of a wound from a poisoned arrow, the bite of a lion or leopard,
[754] starvation, etc. On the other hand, there was also a strong belief

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 9–10; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 56 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 44–5; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 172.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

 821
[539]
[782]

Ho Moon lying there,
Thou must look at this arrow,
That I may shoot a springbok with it to-morrow.

In the mythology of these people the Moon is represented now as the shoe of the Mantis, which he threw into the sky to give him light, now as a man gradually sliced down to almost complete extinction by the sun; and it is also connected, as we have seen, with the origin of death. But that it is more than merely a mythological character to them is shown not only by the prayers, but also by various special observances relating to it. The Moon is not to be laughed at, lest it become angry and go into the sky (i.e. become eclipsed). A Bushman child for the same reason is warned by his father not to look at the Moon as it rises behind the mountain, for fear of arousing its anger and causing it to become obscured. Above all the Moon may not be looked at when game has been shot, lest the wounded animal be lost.[1] [773]

Prayers are also found addressed to the Sun and, more frequently, to the Stars. Abundance of food is attributed to them, and the prayers, like those addressed to the Moon, ask for success in hunting and collecting, and say, in effect, "send food, that we may live and not die." Certain stars are asked for certain foods, probably those that come into season about the time the star first appears in the evening sky. Canopus, for instance, known as the "Bushman rice (ants' larvæ) Star", is addressed as follows[2]:— 782 821

[539]

O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok,
O Star coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star-body coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok to-morrow;
O Star coming there,
I give thee my heart;
Do thou give me thy heart;
O Star coming there,
I may see a proteles to-morrow,
Let the dog kill it,
Let me eat it,
Let me eat filling my body,
That I may lie and sleep at night.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Tales*, 7, 9–10, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, Index s. v. "Moon"; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushman", 145; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 304–6.
[2] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 307.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

821 789 372 The first appearance of this star in the evening sky is also the occasion for the performance of a certain ceremony. In the words of Dr. Bleek's informant, "The Bushmen perceive Canopus, they say to a child: 'Give me yonder piece of wood, that I may put (the end of) it (in the fire), that I may point (it) burning (towards) grandmother; for, grandmother carries Bushman rice; grandmother shall make a little warmth for us; for she coldly comes out; the sun shall warm grandmother's eye for us." About the same time as Canopus, Sirius appears, and a similar ceremony takes place; the man who first saw the star is asked to "burn (a stick) for us (towards) Sirius; that the sun may shining come out for us; that Sirius may not coldly come out". He holds the end of the stick in the fire until it has caught alight, and then points it towards the star, moving it up and down quickly. "He sings; he sings (about) Canopus, he sings (about) Sirius; he points to them with fire, that they may twinkle like each other. He throws fire at them. He covers himself up entirely (including his head) in (his) kaross and lies down. He arises, he sits down; while he does not again lie down; because he feels that he has worked, putting Sirius into the sun's warmth; so that Sirius may warmly come out."[1] Both these stars appear in winter, hence the cold is connected with them. The ceremony just described is therefore almost certainly a warming incantation. It is said also that it will make the stars rise higher, for the higher they stand above the eastern horizon at sunrise, and the more brightly they twinkle, the more nearly winter draws to an end.

● 773 821 In the mythology the stars are held to have once been animals or people of the Early Race, in some cases people who had been transformed upon breaking some taboo. Many of the stars and constellations, as Dr. Bleek points out, bear names which they apparently owe only to the fact that they are seen at certain times when the animals or other objects whose names they bear come into season or are most abundant. This would suggest the close connection between them and the food supply. "Of course," he adds, "when such names as steinbok, hartebeest, eland, anteater, lion, tortoise, etc., had once become attached to certain stars or constellations, fancy might step in and try to discover the shapes of those animals (or other objects) in the configuration of the stars; whilst, at the same time, mythological personification would begin its work,

[1] *Bushman Folklore*, 338–41.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

[82] and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky.
●[773] This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the
[782] !O Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her,
[535] in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-se tala u //gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and
[193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same
[196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers
[782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that
[184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything
[782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh Buschleuten" 13.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 53; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot be regarded as a fully reliable authority.

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent.

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*/gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-⊙pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine.

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

773 776 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer, but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself. She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified [821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children, */kwammanga-⊙pwa*, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention [751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 825 821 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought 821 825 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole, and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One [789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 3–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; idem, *Bushman Folklore*, 305.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible. Among the many rock-paintings left by the Bushmen in the caves and rock-shelters of their country there are pictures "of wonderful animals, such as certainly never existed; these the Bushmen of fifty years ago explained as Rain bulls, Rain animals. With them are often seen frogs, fish, tortoise, and snake, the animals protected by the Rain".[1] Certain snakes found near a waterhole are believed to be kept in store by the Rain, and for fear of arousing its wrath may not be eaten by young unmarried men and women; nor may frogs be killed, lest drought ensue. When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind, and various transformations effected. Young women are particularly exposed to danger from the Rain, and to avoid this they must observe various rules of conduct. They must propitiate the waterhole by means of *buchu* and *tto* (aromatic shrubs); they must hide themselves from the Rain; they must not snap their fingers at people, nor may they be spoken to against their wish, lest the anger of the Rain be thereby aroused. There are many legends telling how disobedient girls were punished, together with those around them, by the angry Rain, or were taken up by his agency in a whirlwind and transformed into frogs, snakes, porcupines, stars, water-flowers, etc. Such transformations are also illustrated in the rock-paintings.

The Rain thus appears as something to be respected or feared, since it has power to change people into animals and other objects, as well as to destroy with storms and terrible lightning. At the same time it also brings water and makes food grow. In connection with this latter aspect Miss Bleek says: "That Bushmen realized the life-giving powers of water is clear, as all tales of rebirth are connected therewith. The Mantis restores his son and his sister, the Blue crane, to life after they have been killed by throwing a part of their body into the water. In course of time this part grows up into the person to which it had belonged. In the same way he makes an eland of a shoe (perhaps a piece of eland's skin). An ostrich is killed; one of its feathers blows into the water and becomes a new ostrich."

"Yet in spite of the Bushman's dependence on water and realization of its power," she goes on to say, "he does not represent it as a man or god. One instance is known to me of the Rain being addressed, when it is wrathful and lightens; but the first part of the speech is to the dead men who ride it:—

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 30.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

782 821 [539]

O galiopere,
O galiopere,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 821 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind [773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 776 [184] [794] Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives [761] [821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put [825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine 796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" 535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant, [773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night. [786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne; the sick person is hang cãi." 535 796 [755]

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded, "We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call? Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle." 776 [782] [539] [825]

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun; but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaq* and *Gcwi*, and together with him and *Cogaq* there was another great "chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was *Cagn* who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how *Cogaq* was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*, is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on. Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by *Cogaq*, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*. [794] 773 776 [825]

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as 776

[1] [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Ko ('ngo), 25

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are [787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while [224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is [782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with [756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant, [791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded [773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do [184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis. 184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to 776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys' [88] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans. [756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws [114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the 177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the 776

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 301, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or *Huwuba*, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kŭ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: */Kui* is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gauab* alternates with */gauab*, *gagorob* with */gau /gorob*, and so on.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

while those dying a " good death " go to */khutse* (*/khuba*). " About the nature of these beings," he adds, " they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them " on the other side " into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below " Magic and Magicians "), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say " *//gaua* thunders ", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words : " *//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires ; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for " God ") ; " we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, " but not to *//gaua*." [2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the " great captain " *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46 ; Fourie, " Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7 ; D. F. Bleek, " Buschmänner von Angola," 14 ; *idem*, " Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over
and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger
and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain
in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the
camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He
climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to
meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain,
he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts
him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays
[782] to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[776] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[821] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord.
As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold
upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows
immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals
the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[755] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony
of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.

[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-Tji* had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, 'If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North-Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

[1] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.
[2] *Naron*, 28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.